

# GENERAL ASSEMBLY

## PLENARY MEETING

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TWELFTH SESSION

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President: Sir Leslie MUNRO (New Zealand).

### AGENDA ITEM 9

#### General debate (continued)

1. Mr. CASEY (Australia): As an Australian, I am particularly glad to congratulate Sir Leslie Munro of New Zealand upon his election as President of the General Assembly. We know his ability and integrity and his long experience of the United Nations. The ties that bind Australia and New Zealand are strong. We have been close partners in peace and in war and in institutions designed as a deterrent to war. It is therefore a great satisfaction to us that the United Nations has chosen to honour one of our closest friends.

2. Our retiring President, Prince Wan Waithayakon of Thailand, has had an historic, as well as a most difficult, session of the Assembly. He has conducted our turbulent business with outstanding wisdom and distinction.

3. I also wish to take this opportunity to pay tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Hammarskjold, whose counsel has for the last five years been at the disposal of this Organization and will, we hope, continue to be so.

4. Apart from the resumed eleventh session on the problem of Hungary, which ended two weeks ago, it is only six months since we ended that most strenuous series of meetings at the end of 1956 and early 1957. This has been a momentous period. The last session of the General Assembly saw the withdrawal of the British, French and Israel forces from the Suez and Sinai areas in conformity with the views of the great majority of countries here in the General Assembly.

5. By contrast, at the same time the voice of world opinion was disregarded and treated with contempt by the Soviet Union when it ruthlessly crushed the spontaneous attempt of the Hungarian people to regain their liberty.

6. Last week [684th meeting], the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union urged the Assembly to adopt a declaration on the principles of peaceful coexistence between States. Mr. Gromyko proposed that five

principles should be enshrined in a declaration to which all Members of the United Nations should adhere. These five principles are as follows: mutual respect for one another's territorial integrity and sovereignty; non-aggression; non-intervention in one another's domestic affairs on any economic, political or ideological grounds whatsoever; equality and mutual benefit; and finally, peaceful coexistence. My only comment on this proposal at the moment is that, in the light of what the Soviet Union did to Hungary, this declaration, coming from the lips of the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, must represent the last word in callous cynicism.

7. I expect we have all read the report on Hungary [A/3592] prepared by the five-nation Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary, appointed by the General Assembly. To those who have not, I would commend it, particularly chapters II and XVII. It is one of the most important documents of our times. It is not a document of opinion, but of established facts, put together by the representatives of five small countries representative of every important part of the world. It reflects the true nature of the communist system of government and of the way the Soviet Union exercises its control over the internal affairs of countries that are in its grip. This five-nation report on the dreadful events in Hungary in October and November 1956 has been endorsed by an overwhelming vote in the Assembly.

8. I would expect that the Hungarian episode -- to call it that -- and this report will have represented a greater setback for Soviet communism than anything that has happened in the last generation. It has shown that communism is detested even by those who have grown up under its shadow and who have known no other form of government. It has shown the Soviet Union that the sixty or seventy divisions, or whatever they are, of mercenary forces levied in the European satellite countries cannot be relied upon to support communism in time of war.

9. Perhaps more than all this, it has opened the eyes of the so-called uncommitted peoples of the world to the true nature of communism. The peoples of every country have put themselves, in their minds, in the place of the unfortunate people of Hungary. When we are asked what the United Nations has done to help Hungary, we can only say that we have done something to expose the true nature of communism and perhaps to make it more difficult for this sort of horror to happen again.

10. We Australians do not believe that the present régime in Hungary represents the Hungarian people. We believe that the so-called delegation of Hungary has no right to be amongst us here. I may say that Australia has welcomed 15,000 Hungarian refugees as immigrants in the last nine months and we are in the process of enabling them to reconstruct their lives in

our country. On a population basis, Australia has taken a larger number of Hungarian immigrant refugees than any other country in the world.

11. I now turn to the great question of disarmament. This is a problem in which every ordinary man and woman in every country has an interest. Unlike some of the matters with which we deal, which are of primary concern to one or two nations or a group of nations, the problem of disarmament is of paramount concern to every human being. The average man lives in the shadow of the fear that at any moment the world may be plunged into its death throes.

12. In the simplest terms, what every man wants, above all else, is to avoid another war. The mere reduction of armaments is not an end in itself; but it is an essential beginning. The world is bedevilled by the profound distrust and suspicion which underlie the failure up to now of the great opposing power groups to make real progress towards peace. The problem of disarmament is the nub of the greatest problem of mankind at the present time.

13. There is nothing to be gained by a vague optimism on a question as important as this. Nor should we mislead the peoples of the world by failing to deal with the realities. During 1957 we have seen some reason for hope in the work of the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission. We hoped that the eleven years of stalemate in disarmament negotiations might be replaced by a limited agreement acceptable to the great Powers. Hope gave way to disappointment when the Soviet representative on the Sub-Committee refused to consider anything but the Soviet Union's own version of a first step in disarmament.

14. The Assembly has no doubt listened with great interest and close attention to the outline given by Mr. Dulles [680th meeting] of the joint proposals submitted by the Western members of the Sub-Committee on 29 August 1957/DC/113, annex 5]. These are: reciprocal inspection, by air and land, to safeguard against surprise attack; the suspension of the production of fissionable material for weapons under an adequate control system, and the progressive transfer of existing stocks of such materials to peaceful uses; the suspension of nuclear-weapons tests for two years and thereafter if the rest of the agreed programme is moving ahead as planned; the study of ways of ensuring that outer space is not used for military purposes; a beginning in the reduction of forces and the depositing of existing armaments in internationally supervised depots. These five points do not favour one side or the other. They should commend themselves to all those who want to reduce the possibility of war.

15. As we all know, the first reaction of the Soviet Government to these proposals was a hostile one. Heaven knows why. Is it too much to hope that the Soviet Union will, even now, listen to the voice of world opinion expressed through this Assembly?

16. The proposals and the interpretation made before the General Assembly by the USSR representative will no doubt be discussed in detail in the First Committee. I will confine myself here to a few observations.

17. The proposals made by Mr. Gromyko, were made to sound persuasive, but they do not seem to advance the discussion. They brought before the Assembly again ideas and arguments which the Assembly and the

Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission have heard before and which have always been found to have a fatal flaw, that is, the lack of effective means of supervision. Once again the Soviet Union professes to be willing to forswear the use of nuclear weapons and to suspend nuclear tests if others will do the same. But a mere declaration that nuclear weapons will neither be used nor tested is not enough.

18. In the Australian view a disarmament agreement not accompanied by an adequate system of inspection and control would be worthless; but the Soviet Union has never been willing to accept the safeguards which would be necessary to ensure that a ban on the use of nuclear weapons would have any meaning. We do not ask that our word be trusted. Neither should we be asked to trust the word of the Soviet Union.

19. The very consistency of the Soviet Union's refusal to agree to international inspection and control naturally raises the suspicion that it has something to hide.

20. The Soviet Union attacks the "open skies" proposal [DC/71, annex 17] on the grounds that aerial inspection is really a means for the collection of military intelligence. Yet surely President Eisenhower's offer of reciprocal aerial inspection in order to ensure against surprise attack is one of the most hopeful ideas that has emerged from these long years of discussion on disarmament. The nuclear weapon puts a premium on massive attack delivered without warning, in the hope that the victim would be prostrated at once and incapable of launching retaliation in kind. The possibility of complete surprise would thus eliminate the deterrent. But complete surprise would at least be made more difficult under an "open skies" system of reciprocal aerial inspection. The United States has been ready to agree on an "open skies" system in order to render surprise attack unlikely. But the Soviet Union is not willing. This has been our constant experience.

21. I must confess, therefore, that when I think about the attitude of the Soviet Union towards the problems of disarmament I sometimes come pretty close to despair. But in dealing with a matter of such far-reaching and outstanding importance, despair is something that none of us can allow himself to entertain. We must keep trying, whatever the difficulties.

22. A more hopeful development in these past six months -- and one that has been strongly criticized by the Soviet Union -- has been the European Common Market Treaty and the associated proposals for a European free trade area.

23. Europe has passed through difficult years since the end of the Second World War in 1945. The worst of those difficulties has been relieved by generous assistance from the United States. Flowing from this there has been a growth of a new spirit of co-operation in Western and Central Europe, a new recognition of mutual dependence and common interests.

24. For many years far-sighted Europeans have dreamed of the day when the trade barriers between European countries would be lowered, and the free movement of goods across the political frontiers would facilitate the increase in productivity that is essential to the raising of living standards.

25. With the adoption of the plans for a European Common Market this better day is now dawning. Western Europe, once itself the target of communist aspirations, is showing a way to be prosperous and at the same time free. The economic recovery of Europe is already well advanced, and the foundations are now being laid for an increase in production and trade in Europe that will not only bring greater prosperity and security to its peoples, but also will renew and expand its capacity to assist the economic development of other regions of the world.

26. We in Australia welcome this development. While we have special interests of great importance as large-scale exporters of agricultural products and raw materials, which we must conserve, we nevertheless see great promise in the constructive efforts that Western Europe and the United Kingdom are making to create by stages a powerful and prosperous European economic community by means of a common market and a free trade area in combination.

27. We rejoice in the new hope that this development brings to the peoples of Europe. We realize very well the importance of European economic progress as a factor in the political stability and security of the whole world. We know, too, that in the course of time Europe's progress will bring new opportunities for trade with many overseas countries.

28. I would hope that, along with the growth of Europe's economic strength, there will come a quickening of interest throughout Europe in the problems and needs, for instance, of Asia. In the past, Europe has contributed substantially to the development of Asian countries through capital, enterprise and special skills. But the needs of Asia are very great. I hope that we shall see an increasing participation by Europe in the providing of technical and other assistance to the under-developed countries of Asia.

29. In referring to the European picture, let me also stress Australia's interest in the question of German reunification. We feel that Europe is prevented from fulfilling its important role in world affairs while one of its greatest countries is subject to an artificial division, which we all know does not accord with the wishes of its people, and especially the people of east Germany.

30. As one considers the attitude of the Soviet Union towards European co-operation, as well as its stand on other issues, one is impelled to reflect once again upon the Soviet protestation of support for the principles of "peaceful coexistence". It should now be abundantly clear to the world that when the Soviet Union uses the phrase "peaceful coexistence", it has in mind something different from the ordinary meaning of the term. As Dr. Johnson said, "Sir, you must define your terms."

31. Two years ago I tried to frame a definition of this phrase. I said:

"...coexistence must mean that no one country or group of countries shall attempt by force of arms to harass or subdue another ... no country shall attempt, politically or otherwise, to undermine the allegiance of the people of another country from its government" [520th meeting, para. 25].

I believe that the sense of this definition is what the democracies mean when they use the term "peaceful coexistence".

32. However, we have learned from experience that in communist statements many terms are used which possess a twofold meaning. Taken in their ordinary sense these terms get a generous response from liberal and progressively-minded people throughout the world. But we have come to realize that many expressions have a special meaning for those in the Communist countries. The phrase "peaceful coexistence" is one of these.

33. Mr. Khrushchev and other Soviet leaders have thrown light on the Soviet interpretation of "peaceful coexistence" in recent times which makes abundantly clear that this expression means to them something entirely different from what it means to us. To the Russians "peaceful coexistence" is consistent with political, economic and ideological struggle. From what these leaders have said, it is clear that they regard "peaceful coexistence" as a form of "cold warfare" waged against the peoples and Governments of the free world -- in other words, anything short of the actual use of force. In fact, the Hungarian experience would seem to mean that even this distorted definition of "peaceful coexistence" does not apply to the relations between the Soviet Union and the members of its European bloc.

34. I take no satisfaction in saying these things. I do so because I believe it is essential that the free world should not be misled by the use of the term "peaceful coexistence" in the mouths of international Communist leaders.

35. In the Middle East, the United Nations still has much unfinished business. It is true that the Suez Canal has been reopened at an earlier date and at less cost than was originally expected. This was made possible first by those Governments -- including that of Australia -- which made advances to the United Nations in the form of temporary finance, and secondly by the efforts of the Secretary-General and his staff, with the able assistance of Lieutenant-General Raymond A. Wheeler. The world's trade and shipping is again moving through the Canal, but under protest, for the Egyptian Government is operating the Canal under the terms of a unilateral declaration made by Egypt on 13 July 1957 that falls short of the six principles unanimously approved by the Security Council last October [S/3675]. In the long run, it is in Egypt's own interest that the whole world should have confidence that the Canal will be available to all nations and that it will not be affected by arbitrary decisions of the Egyptian Government.

36. The relations between Israel and its Arab neighbours underline the precarious nature of the peace in the Middle East. I wish to pay a tribute to Canada and to those other countries which contributed to the strength of the United Nations Emergency Force under the direction of General E.L.M. Burns of Canada, and to the efforts of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization in Palestine; also to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East. These field organizations of the United Nations have played a significant role in the continuing task of keeping the peace against a background of deep-seated emotional tensions.

37. Perhaps no region of the world stands in greater need than the Middle East of a period of calm, a cooling-off period, in which men of goodwill can seek

solutions to the problems that have so often threatened to engulf Israel and its neighbours in a major war. This is the moment which the Soviet Union chooses to go fishing in these troubled waters. The rise of a Communist-dominated régime in Syria, and the remarks of the Soviet representative in the Assembly, are danger signals that the other countries of the Middle East and, indeed, of the whole world, dare not ignore. Once again the Assembly must affirm the right of nations to settle their own affairs and be ready to condemn aggressive policies. The United Nations would not wish to see another Hungary in the Middle East.

38. Let us remember what Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, the British Foreign Secretary, told us yesterday [685th meeting] about the recent official Soviet broadcasts and Press statements bitterly attacking the Governments of Jordan, Lebanon, Iraq and Iran and calling on the peoples of those countries to rise up and overthrow their Governments. Each of these vicious attacks was broadcast in the language of the country concerned, and was beamed by radio at that country.

39. I would like to ask the Soviet Foreign Minister how he explains these deliberate and malicious attempts to interfere in the most provocative possible way with the internal affairs of these countries of the Middle East? I would like to ask him how he squares this dangerous, subversive propaganda with his sponsorship of a draft declaration on "peaceful co-existence" [A/3673], calling upon us all to refrain from interference in each others domestic affairs for any motives of an economic, political or ideological character? If the Soviet Union hopes to be able to hold its head up in the General Assembly, these things need explaining, if they can be explained.

40. On the other side of the balance sheet, there have been, in these last six months, two events which give us all, I am sure, satisfaction. I refer to the admission of the free and independent, sovereign countries of Ghana and the Federation of Malaya to the United Nations. As the representative of Canada said [678th meeting], it is a satisfaction to see a colony turned into a nation, like Ghana and the Federation of Malaya, instead of a nation turned into a colony, like Hungary.

41. Those of us who have been members of the Commonwealth for many years have been encouraged by the spontaneity with which former members of the British Empire which have recently gained independence have sought membership in the Commonwealth. The Assembly must have been impressed by the generous references to the Commonwealth which were made last week by the representatives of Ghana and of the Federation of Malaya.

42. One aspect of our growing Commonwealth that strikes me as particularly important is that, as former colonies achieve self-government in the Commonwealth, they establish not only their independence in relation to the United Kingdom, but also a new relation of equal status and direct co-operation with the other members of the Commonwealth, an equality and co-operation that cut across all differences in race and culture. We in Australia value very highly this direct association with each and every member of the Commonwealth, and we believe it brings us all mutual benefits.

43. In the United Nations, as in our direct dealings with each other, it is our practice to maintain close

consultation. But the Commonwealth is not a bloc or a caucus that works out a course of action that all members are bound to follow. It is well known that we do not vote as a bloc, for it is our tradition to appraise problems on their merits.

44. I am glad to state that Australia is continuing to play its part in the support of the international voluntary aid programmes of the United Nations. Subject to parliamentary approval, it is the Australian Government's intention to pursue the following plan of contributions: to the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance for 1958, \$625,000 -- this is an increase of 25 per cent over our pledge for 1957; to the United Nations Children's Fund for 1957, \$502,000 -- this is an increase of \$54,000 on Australia's contribution last year; to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East for the twelve months ending 30 June 1958, \$112,000; to the United Nations Refugee Fund for 1957, \$112,000.

45. As many will be aware, Australia is in addition making a substantial contribution to the success of the Colombo Plan. In the financial year 1957-1958 the Australian Government hopes, with parliamentary approval, to appropriate over \$11.5 million for this purpose.

46. Australia has made sustained efforts to assist the people of Hungary by practical means. In addition to the \$290,000 which we gave nine months ago, we will in the current year provide \$56,000 for assistance to refugees from Hungary.

47. As a developing country, Australia has many calls on its financial resources, but within the limits of our ability, Australia will continue to be a loyal supporter of international voluntary aid programmes.

48. Before I finish, let me say a few words about all this business of international affairs as it must appear to the ordinary man and woman. After all, we here in the United Nations are not supermen who have interests that are above and apart from those of the peoples of the countries that we represent. We are ordinary human beings who are, for the time being, trying to do the best we can in the interests of the survival of our respective peoples and of their progress towards a better life. It can be put, I think, as simply as that. Yet the results are often most disappointing.

49. The average human being treats other average human beings with reasonable courtesy, honesty and directness. He finds it difficult to understand why nations cannot also so treat each other. There can be distrust between individual human beings, as there can be, and unfortunately is, between nations, whether justified or not. Such international distrust may, and probably does, exist because one country is fearful of attack by another. This presumably is at the basis of the as yet unsolved problem of disarmament - indeed I can say that I hope it is, because there is another and more awful alternative, which, pray God, is an unjustified thought, and that is that the Soviet Union may have it in mind to attack and to attempt to overwhelm the West by sudden and colossal violence before existing weapons of retaliation can be brought into action, and so seek to implement its stated aim of communizing the world. The evidence of the discussions of the past few years in the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission could be so interpreted. One hopes that

this interpretation may be wrong, because if this were the basic reality, then there would be no future for the world.

50. But, on the more charitable view that the attitude of the Soviet Union towards the limitation of armaments is based on the fear of being attacked by the West if it makes a false move, however unjustified this fear may be, I cannot bring myself to believe that this situation cannot be resolved. I cannot believe that the wit of man cannot devise fool-proof and knave-proof safeguards that will enable the threat of the use of nuclear weapons and even of the use of so-called conventional forces to be progressively whittled down, without risk to either side.

51. We all know the importance of atmosphere, of the climate of the relationship between two individuals or two nations or two groups of nations. Biting or offensive words during the course of a negotiation can bedevil the chance of agreement. If each side sincerely wants to diminish the chance of war, if each side wants the limitation of armaments, then surely it could be tacitly understood that neither should attack the good faith of the other in respect of any particular disarmament proposals, even if it does not like them. It is perfectly possible to say that you cannot agree with a certain proposal without doing so in terms that give deep offence to the other side.

52. Let us have a moratorium, a truce, an armistice, in respect of name-calling, which, after all, has only a momentary effect, until the other side thinks of a more wounding piece of abuse.

53. This is not the time or the place to put forward specific proposals on disarmament, but I hope that my colleagues will agree that the things I have been trying to say have some basic relevance to this, the greatest current problem of mankind.

54. Mr. ARDALAN (Iran) (translated from French): On behalf of the delegation of Iran and on my own behalf I wish to offer you my most cordial congratulations on your election as President of the General Assembly. I am especially happy to see one of our colleagues, whose ability and high ethical sense are universally recognized, elected to the highest office of the United Nations.

55. At the same time I should like to express my profound esteem for Prince Wan Waithayakon, who presided over the debates of the eleventh session with such graciousness and skill.

56. I cannot conceal from you how pleased I am to be back in this Assembly, in whose proceedings I last participated three years ago. My pleasure is all the greater since, with the addition of twenty-two new Members to the great family of the United Nations, the Assembly has now become well-nigh universal. I should like to add that to us the absence of these countries was a source of concern and regret and, as the spokesman of my Government, I hope with all my heart that the principle of universality to which we have always subscribed may become a concrete reality through the admission of other States which have applied for membership and which fulfil the conditions of membership.

57. The increase in the membership of the Organization should, we think, have as its corollary the expansion of the principal organs of the United Nations,

notably the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council. I am gratified to note that this problem is also engaging the attention of several of our colleagues, and I congratulate those Members who already last year took the initiative of proposing [A/3138 to A/3140] that the Assembly should consider the items which reappear on this session's agenda as items 19, 20 and 21.

58. At this point I should like to review briefly the events of the past year and, from them, to draw a few conclusions concerning the influence our Organization exerted on their course. When the General Assembly met last year, storm clouds had already begun to overshadow international co-operation, in consequence of the events that had taken place in both the Middle East and Hungary. The peoples of the world have become so interdependent that the least disturbance, the slightest upheaval, the faintest unrest, wherever in the world they may arise, are apt to spread swiftly and to create general uneasiness and anxiety.

59. The entire world, keenly aware of the dangers implicit in another world war, sincerely desires to forestall it and is making arduous efforts to ward off any explosive situation threatening to expose mankind to this dreadful prospect.

60. It is to this sincere desire, I believe, that we must attribute the easing of tension which had occurred a few years ago. Although interrupted momentarily by last year's events, this relaxation is again developing, albeit very slowly, in a desirable direction. For instance, it has been possible to continue the progress made in the peaceful utilization of atomic energy before the events of last autumn, and this progress has smoothed the way for organizing effective international co-operation in this field. The same is true of the disarmament problem, in which the meagre results obtained are nevertheless an encouraging sign.

61. Yet we should frankly admit that the world is still divided on several issues and that the tension persists, at least in some areas of the world. Hence, our first task is to eliminate the remaining evil consequences of last year's serious events. At the same time we should strive to find solutions to the still unsolved problems.

62. Our conviction is unshaken - and the fact that the sincere desire for international collaboration survived last year's crisis supports this conviction - that it is still possible, if each one shows the necessary good will, to work out an acceptable solution for the problems still pending and to map out a path along positive, constructive lines for international co-operation among all nations, regardless of their political, economic and social systems.

63. Now, as we are about to begin this session's work, we cannot fail to be guided by what we have learned, not only from the grave events which clouded the atmosphere of international relations for a while, but also from the positive accomplishments of our Organization. For, however serious and regrettable the events I referred to may have been, it is still gratifying that our Organization was able to meet the situation and proved once again that it is capable of bringing into play and utilizing successfully all the moral authority at its disposal, when the issue is the purpose for which it was created - the maintenance of international peace and security.

64. In this connexion, it is especially gratifying to me to note that the United Kingdom and France responded favourably to the Assembly's summons and complied with its resolutions. In this way, they restored the trust the United Nations had placed in those two Powers which, as permanent members of the Security Council, bear a heavy responsibility for maintaining international peace and security.

65. We would have liked the Powers most directly concerned in the situation created in Hungary to show the same respect for the Assembly's decisions and the same willingness to comply with them.

66. To return to the crisis in the Middle East, I think it may be said with certainty that our Organization won prestige and authority through the firmness and speed with which it faced this problem. For it organized the United Nations Emergency Force very promptly, and this Force was able to make an invaluable contribution to the restoration of order in the region. The organization of that Force and the efficiency with which it discharged its delicate duties encourage us to look forward to the establishment of a permanent force of this sort, whose deployment wherever danger threatened would be the best means of safeguarding the peace. Such a force, moreover, would be a first step towards establishing the international army so earnestly desired by the authors of the Charter.

67. Accordingly, we express the hope that this new experiment in world diplomacy may prove to be a seed capable of growing and developing into an international police force, which in the past has been sorely wanting in our Organization.

68. The part played by the United Nations in the freeing and clearing of the Suez Canal ahead of schedule, an operation which enabled the users of that waterway to resume passage through it in the interests of international co-operation, also merits our unreserved admiration.

69. Beyond any doubt, the initiative and efforts of the Secretary-General greatly contributed to the favourable turn taken by the events in this sphere. To him, for his successful endeavours, we offer our profound gratitude.

70. It would, however, be a grave mistake to think that the malady from which this region suffers is completely cured. Now that relative calm has been restored, we must attack the very origin of the disease and try to remove its causes. This means that we should exert ourselves to attain lasting and final results; otherwise, this precarious calm might easily be broken by violent shocks.

71. As the representative of a country situated in the region, a country whose independence, though often threatened, has been preserved, I may perhaps submit certain general observations, which I hope will make a modest contribution to the return of lasting tranquillity in the region. I shall try to do this in all objectivity and without bias or preconceived ideas.

72. Most of the peoples inhabiting this vast region were long deprived of their independence. By reason of scientific and social advances and of the development of means of communication, these peoples came to realize the conditions under which they were living and were encouraged to assert their right to freedom

and their just aspirations to dispose freely of their economic resources.

73. This realization is a factor we ought to respect and take into consideration, and we should understand that the movements to which I have alluded, far from being destructive or harmful, are evidence of an historical and natural evolution for which we ought to show comprehension. The free and powerful countries, particularly those enjoying prosperity, should make every effort to help the recently liberated peoples to fulfil their aspirations in tranquillity; they should show them, in tangible form, what sincere international co-operation can achieve.

74. In my opinion, it is by anticipating the legitimate aspirations of these peoples, by welcoming them in a spirit of fairness, that we shall succeed in guiding them in the direction of harmonious co-operation beneficial to all. Otherwise, these forces would follow channels leading to rancour and vindictiveness, and in any event it would prove impossible to perpetuate certain privileged positions which cannot nowadays be justified in any way whatsoever.

75. In the Middle East today we are confronted by opinions and ideas which are at times extremist. In some quarters these ideas are condemned, while elsewhere they are welcomed enthusiastically. These ideas, rejected outright by some, are the basis and quintessence of policy for others. We must seek to discover the origin of that divergence. If the aspirations and trends now emerging are actuated by enlightened patriotism, by the desire to maintain or to exercise national sovereignty in full freedom, to guard the common heritage of civilization, to curb the influence of certain personal interests, no one is entitled to regard them as anything but legitimate. If, however, these movements spring from selfish ambition, if they aim at the establishment of absolute rule and if their object is the employment of force for expansionist purposes, creating apprehension and division among nations, then they can only be regarded as baneful and injurious.

76. We cannot content ourselves with words of promise. We shall support with all our power the legitimate aspirations of the peoples and we shall do our utmost to satisfy them by making common cause with those who, like ourselves, are dedicated to the quest for a just and equitable international order through co-operation in the community of nations. In following this course, we merely conform to the traditions inherent in our civilization.

77. I think it is proper at this point to outline the role which my country has been trying to play in the Middle East with a view to contributing to the stability and to the maintenance of peace in the region. As a counterpart to our efforts in the United Nations, we considered it our duty also to join, in the framework of a defensive pact, those Powers which have the same political and economic aims, in order to safeguard our security and to hasten our economic development. For this reason, we acceded to the Baghdad Pact, which in the course of the last year has developed in notable fashion.

78. Like any other international arrangement of its kind, this Pact is designed to fill existing gaps in the collective security system provided for in the United Nations Charter. Purely defensive in character, this association constitutes, as we see it, an advance in

international relations, inasmuch as it meets more clearly and more completely the requirements of the present situation and, in particular, promotes the necessary collaboration between States whose interest and wish it is to harmonize their efforts both in the field of security and in the field of economic and social development.

79. The deliberations of the third annual session of the Council of Ministers of the Baghdad Pact, held at Karachi in June 1957, furnished striking proof that the structure of peace has been materially reinforced by the entry into effect of the provisions of that Pact, that the Pact has done much to bring together certain Middle Eastern countries with a total population of 140 million and that it has associated them, in a co-operation beneficial to all the parties concerned, with the United Kingdom and the United States, whose highly industrialized economy supplements that of a region which is as yet at the initial stage of industrial development.

80. Needless to say, Iran, as a member of this alliance, will redouble its efforts to consolidate the ties linking it with its allies, not only to promote security and stability in the region, but also to help consolidate world peace.

81. Although neighbours of Iraq, Pakistan and Turkey, it is only since the signing of the Baghdad Pact that we have been able to join with these countries in true co-operation embracing all fields where co-operation may be fruitful of results. In addition to certain technical assistance projects, we have been able to prepare plans for intensifying our commercial and agricultural relations and improving our public health services and communications.

82. The factors which prompted us to adhere to the Baghdad Pact also account for our enthusiastic support of the principles contained in the Eisenhower Doctrine, designed to strengthen the defence of the Middle East against all aggression and to provide economic assistance to the countries in that area.

83. I should now like to turn to some other problems still outstanding, a few of which appear on the Assembly's agenda.

84. First and foremost, we have the Palestine question. While there remain almost a million Palestine refugees in the Arab countries and while the parties concerned continue to hold widely divergent views, grave incidents are always apt to occur. We must therefore display tolerance, foresight and realism in striving, on the basis of the principles adopted by the General Assembly, for a satisfactory solution likely to ensure the political stability of the countries of the Middle East, thus leaving them free to devote their efforts to the economic development of the area.

85. Another problem of vital importance is the present tragic situation in Algeria.

86. Ever since the adoption by the General Assembly of resolution 1012 (XI) on the question of Algeria, we have been waiting for France to comply with the hope expressed by the Assembly and to make every effort, in a spirit of co-operation, to find a peaceful democratic and just solution, through appropriate means, in conformity with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

87. My Government deplores the fact that nothing tangible has been accomplished towards attaining the purposes stated in the resolution and is greatly disturbed by the constant deterioration of the situation, which merely prolongs the suffering and daily causes further large-scale loss of human life.

88. There is nevertheless a clear and growing tendency on the part of world public opinion, including French opinion, to admit the need to recognize the legitimate aspirations of the Algerian people, not only on humanitarian grounds, but also in order to put an end to a situation fraught with danger to peace. We hope that, in dealing with this question, the General Assembly will be able to consider the facts in a spirit of calm and moderation and thus help the French Government to find a speedy solution of the problem.

89. Our views on the Algerian problem are equally applicable to all other questions involving the legitimate aspirations of peoples who are either under trusteeship or non-self-governing, and we believe that the United Nations must abide by the principles of the Charter and intensify its efforts to see that those aspirations are satisfied.

90. It is highly gratifying to note that our Organization has already made a great contribution towards the realization of the purposes laid down in the Charter; nevertheless, in view of the fact that there still exists a large number of peoples subject to foreign domination, we feel that the United Nations should make even greater efforts to ensure that those peoples attain their independence.

91. It was with great joy that we greeted the independence of the peoples of Ghana and the Federation of Malaya. I wish to take this opportunity of assuring them once again from this rostrum of our sincerest wishes for their happiness and prosperity.

92. I should now like to turn briefly to Europe and say a word about the German problem, which is of serious concern to us. We are deeply grieved to see the continued division of that country into two sections; this situation is not only repugnant to the aspirations of the German people, but also constitutes a source of tension and grave unrest. We ardently hope that the problem of the unification of Germany may be solved, in the interests of world peace and with due regard for the legitimate aspirations of the German people.

93. I now feel bound to mention one of the most important questions on the Assembly's agenda: the question of disarmament. This question, which has already been discussed at such great length in the United Nations, is of universal interest. It is a source of concern not solely to the great Powers, which discuss it regularly, especially in the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission, but also to the small and medium Powers, which are compelled by the absence of agreement on the subject of disarmament to expend a large part of their national revenue on defence. The small and medium Powers also realize that wars can no longer be localized and that, sooner or later, any war would engulf both the great and the small in a general conflagration.

94. This universal concern has been repeatedly reflected in the General Assembly, where representatives of various Powers have expressed their alarm at the armaments race and have addressed urgent

appeals to the members of the Disarmament Commission and of its Sub-Committee to spare no effort in order to reach appropriate agreements.

95. It is important to note that, despite the difficulties encountered by the Sub-Committee in its debates and despite the fact that no tangible result has yet been achieved, new factors have been introduced by the parties concerned, affording grounds for hope that an agreement - although of only limited scope - may be possible.

96. We sincerely hope that the General Assembly's discussions on this subject will have a favourable outcome and thus help the Disarmament Commission and its Sub-Committee to continue their task in a more auspicious atmosphere and with greater chances of success.

97. Before concluding this part of my statement on political questions I am in duty bound to call attention to the special importance of close international co-operation and the maintenance of excellent good-neighbourly relations.

98. In this connexion I should like to emphasize the importance of the developments over the past few years in relations between Iran and our great neighbour to the north, the Soviet Union. Two years ago we succeeded in settling the differences existing between our country and the Soviet Union regarding the demarcation lines of our common frontiers. We have also succeeded in strengthening our commercial ties, and an agreement has just been concluded with a view to exploring the possibility of jointly harnessing our resources of water power through the construction of dams along the rivers which run between our respective countries.

99. I should like to say a further word concerning international economic co-operation. One of the serious economic problems is the sizable gulf which still separates the industrialized and the economically under-developed countries. One of the essential tasks of the United Nations is to promote conditions of stability and well-being in the world and to contribute to economic and social progress and development, particularly in the under-developed countries where the peoples' level of living is still very low.

100. It should be observed that the United Nations has done what it could towards the development of those countries, among other things by rendering them technical assistance on a relatively large scale. So far, however, the United Nations has been unable to achieve the economic and social purposes set forth in the Charter. This situation can be ascribed in part to a lack of the funds needed to extend the technical assistance programmes of the United Nations and to the absence of a special agency equipped with the credit resources which the preparation and execution of plans for essential works require.

101. The need for such an agency seems the more obvious today in that neither the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Finance Corporation nor private institutions can furnish the necessary financial help. It is essential, therefore, that these institutions should be reinforced by others capable of filling the gap. Hence it was with great satisfaction that we learned that, at its twenty-fourth session, the Economic and Social Council had adopted a resolution [662 B (XXIV)] recommending the

establishment of the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development [SUNFED], the essential function of which would be to supply the financial needs we have been describing. We hope the General Assembly will also support this idea, and that this Fund can be set up as soon as possible.

102. So far as my country is concerned, we fully appreciate that it is for us to ensure our own economic development. That is why we have devoted most of our oil revenues to that purpose. With the capital thus amassed we have been able to institute a second economic plan, under which we have been able not only to revive those branches of industry that had been affected by the Second World War and the ensuing political instability, but also to increase our production by setting up new industries and modernizing our agricultural equipment. In this connexion I avail myself of this opportunity to express to the United States Government our gratitude for the generous assistance which it has rendered us in recent years, and which has enabled us to revive our economy at a difficult time.

103. With a view to encouraging the investment of foreign capital in our country and to speeding up the pace of our economic development, an Act has been passed providing adequate guarantees for foreign capital invested in Iran. Moreover, another Act has been passed to promote the utilization of our oil resources and we are convinced that, over and above the agreement concluded on 5 August 1954 by the National Iranian Oil Company with the international oil consortium, we shall manage to step up the working of other oil deposits with the co-operation of other interested concerns. This will enable us to increase our national income and intensify our economic development, and will at the same time offer wider possibilities for improved international co-operation.

104. In conclusion, I wish to reaffirm our confidence and faith in the United Nations and our fidelity to the principles of the Charter. It is in this spirit that we shall take part in the work of this session, with the firm conviction that the health and prosperity of our people, as of all others, can be assured only within that framework of international solidarity of which the United Nations is the living symbol.

105. Mr. SERRANO (Chile) (translated from Spanish): It is a great honour for me to convey to you, Mr. President, the congratulations of my Government upon your election to the high office which your personal ability and distinction deserve. The way in which you were elected demonstrates the unity among the Members of the General Assembly and points the way towards the strengthening of that unity.

106. I should also like to congratulate the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Lebanon for an action which not only does honour to his country but to all those who supported his candidacy.

107. There has been much criticism of the defects of the United Nations. The Secretary-General took it upon himself to refute that criticism in the introduction to his annual report [A/3594/Add.1] and did so brilliantly and with an excellent sense of proportion. The United Nations is a valuable instrument for the use of the Member States, and cannot be more than the reflection and projection of the policies of their Governments. Let us not, then, blame the instrument for without it, the



world situation would be worse than that which we confront today with some trepidation.

108. Every important institution acquires a life of its own, which is to some extent independent of the life of those composing it: that is the characteristic of institutional development. That development has been satisfactory for the twelve years of the Organization's existence, and it is continuing to improve and to acquire its own physiognomy, which distinguishes it as unique in the world. The atmosphere in this hall is in itself the recognition of a democratic world, a world endeavoring to advance to better international co-existence and to work out solutions which will safeguard the most precious gift of mankind, peace. In this Assembly, the principle of a better world is being established, the nucleus of a world conscience which will affect and shape the lives not only of nations but of individuals, the life of the human being.

109. Only five days ago [678th meeting], the representative of the Federation of Malaya was seated among us, and we were moved to see him mount this rostrum dressed in the national costume of his country. It was a solemn moment; it signified the recognition of the universality of the United Nations and also demonstrated the firm resolve to grant full rights to the peoples and to recognize their equality before the law.

110. We have heard the criticism that small nations, or nations whose natural resources are still meagre, have equal representation in this Assembly with great and powerful nations at the peak of their development. That criticism is utterly unfounded. There are specific provisions in the Charter, perhaps unduly strict provisions, which ensure that the great Powers shall have a substantial influence on the Organization. Moreover, the comportment of the small nations has been sober and restraining. Nor should we forget that the whole structure of the United Nations is based on a democratic ideal which naturally may account for some of its defects, but also offers great advantages. It is no mere coincidence that the first words of the Charter are virtually identical with those of the Constitution of a democratic country like the United States: "We, the people..."

111. I have referred to the institutional life of the United Nations, and I maintain that in the short space of twelve years, it has developed soundly and dynamically. Perhaps the best evidence of this is the fact that although the Organization began with only fifty Members and now has eighty-two, the basic principles and broad lines of its policy have not been changed by this vast growth. On the contrary, those basic principles have been strengthened. That fidelity to the provisions of the Charter illustrates to what extent its principles derive from natural law, which, in the words of Lord Bryce, is simple and rational as opposed to what is artificial and arbitrary; it is universal, as opposed to what is local or national.

112. It is not the small nations which imperil the future of the United Nations. To some extent, the position might turn out to be quite the reverse. The world is watching with dismay an armaments race of the great Powers which is on an unprecedented scale. The danger inherent in this state of affairs cannot be overemphasized. It is a danger to all mankind, capable of destroying our civilization altogether. Furthermore, it is a heavy burden which hampers the progress of its

peoples and diverts the production of consumer goods, so essential to the material and cultural well-being of any society, to destructive purposes. Lastly, it is especially unfair to the small countries, which, although not participating in the armaments race, suffer its consequences most acutely.

113. The report specially prepared by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace for this session of the Assembly states:

"One of the ironies of the Post-war world has been the coexistence of a growing demand for foreign capital to accelerate economic development and a marked reluctance of investors in the capital-exporting countries to commit their funds abroad, except in the case of such extractive industries as petroleum. The present situation contrasts vividly with that of the last century when European countries, notably Great Britain, financed a wide variety of enterprises overseas, ranging from power, rail and port facilities to plantations, mines and manufacturing industries."<sup>1/</sup>

The report speaks of a vital problem which may be summed up in these words: private capital has not the capacity to build the economic infrastructure of the under-developed countries - the necessary power, transport, communications, education, health and housing, which are prerequisites of development and cannot be financed in the expectation of immediate or short-term returns.

114. Through technical assistance and the specialized agencies, the United Nations has contributed greatly to the raising of the economic level of many countries, particularly in Asia and Latin America. Its work in that direction represents a first step, and it represents a great deal. But technical assistance is not enough. For years now, the Economic and Social Council has been discussing the establishment of a special fund to satisfy the demand for capital which I have mentioned. That Fund would be SUNFED, and my Government is especially anxious to commend it to the Assembly. There have been long and difficult negotiations regarding the structure of that special fund in various working committees and expert groups. The idea in itself is not inconsistent with the flow of private capital which we so urgently need, nor does it provide a substitute for it. It is merely an instrument to facilitate the building of an economic foundation which would stimulate the flow of private capital. Many countries would like to see a more constructive and a more positive approach to this proposal. We are confident that this time our hopes will not be disappointed.

115. Other events have happened which make worldwide economic measures an urgent necessity.

116. The countries producing basic raw materials are still confronted with a sharp decline in world prices and with situations which are beyond their control and which they cannot rectify. Without the intervention of world organs, economic equilibrium cannot be achieved, and the United Nations cannot remain indifferent to a situation which vitally affects the welfare and development of many countries.

<sup>1/</sup> Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, "Issues before the twelfth General Assembly", International Conciliation, No. 514 (September 1957), p. 118.

117. In other respects, specific and decisive measures have been taken which but a few years ago would have been considered revolutionary. For example, the declaration of President Eisenhower in December 1953 [470th meeting] has led to the establishment of the International Atomic Energy Agency. The Preparatory Commission, which prepared the Statute of the Agency, held more than eighty regular meetings, not to speak of many informal meetings, which ultimately resulted in agreement and the establishment of a new agency which represents our hope for the future of our civilization. It is to be hoped that in the near future the production of fissionable material, which is now being stockpiled for military purposes or used in tests that may be harmful to human life, will be channelled towards the peaceful purposes represented by the International Atomic Energy Agency.

118. Many other bodies also owe their existence to the United Nations. Their activities have an equally decisive, though less spectacular, influence on the lives of peoples. My Government is in duty bound to express its gratitude for the work of the United Nations Children's Fund [UNICEF], the International Monetary Fund, and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, as well as for that of the Economic Commission for Latin America, whose research is most helpful to each and every one of the countries of the American continent.

119. I shall not refer to the remaining items of the agenda, on which my Government will explain its traditional policy in the course of the specific debates. It is my duty, however, to mention item 50, proposed by the Secretary-General, which deals with a gift of land to be transferred by Chile to the United Nations in perpetuity as yet another token of its loyal co-operation in the common cause.

120. It would also be wrong not to recognize the gradual progress being made in multilateral agreements concerning questions ranging from human rights to postal services and the list of dangerous goods. The variety of those agreements and conventions, concluded under United Nations auspices, is almost as great as the innumerable activities carried on in the modern world.

121. Over and above that network of agreements and treaties which form a system of international co-existence, we can discern a striking phenomenon: in the course of twelve years, a world conscience has been created, an expression of common feeling which wells up from the innermost depths of the human community. Its voice was heard immediately after the tragic events considered at the Assembly's eleventh session. It must not be lost; it must not be stilled. The world Press echoed it and it reached the humblest homes in the far corners of the earth. That voice of the world's conscience belongs to this Assembly, and nobody can rob the Assembly of this voice.

122. Mr. FIGL (Austria):<sup>2/</sup> First of all, may I take this opportunity, on behalf of the Austrian delegation, to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your election to this high office. Your personality, your long experience in the field of international co-operation, and your work in the United Nations ensure the successful guidance of the twelfth session of the General Assembly.

<sup>2/</sup> Mr. Figl spoke in German. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

123. Nor do I wish to allow this opportunity to pass without expressing our gratitude to the President of the eleventh session, Prince Wan Waithayakon, for the excellent manner in which he conducted the affairs of that session during a grave period in which the peace of the world was in peril. With our thanks, we should also like to extend to him our best wishes for continued successful activity in the service of mutual understanding among the peoples of the world.

124. Last year, when the Austrian delegation was able officially to participate for the first time in the work of the General Assembly, I declared [589th meeting], in the name of the Austrian Government and the Austrian people, that we would participate in a spirit of earnestness, fully aware of our responsibility in the activities of the United Nations, and willing to contribute our share towards the realization of the high ideals of this community of nations. Today, I can only reaffirm this pledge. We believe and have confidence in the United Nations which now, as before, we consider to be the best guarantee for the maintenance of peace and the realization of the principles embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

125. Although certain weaknesses have become apparent since the United Nations came into existence, I nevertheless believe I am justified in saying that the United Nations and its Secretary-General -- who, it is the hope of the Austrian delegation, will be re-elected -- have given proof of their efficiency in mastering difficult situations. Without this Organization it would scarcely have been possible to solve the multitude of problems which have arisen, particularly within the past few years. It seems to us essential that each country should subordinate its own interests to the common interest, thereby creating an atmosphere of mutual confidence which may provide a firm foundation on which to build a happy and peaceful world.

126. We had all hoped that such an atmosphere would bring to a successful conclusion the recent disarmament talks held by the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission in London. These talks seem to have failed for the time being. However, we do not believe that this means the end of discussions on disarmament. On the contrary, we feel that, during the discussions in London, for the first time in years concrete proposals were put forward and discussed and that both sides made serious efforts to bring the matter nearer to a solution.

127. The General Assembly will deal with this matter in great detail at its twelfth session. It is understandable that the public, in view of the new weapons with their unimaginable consequences, is deeply concerned. We are happy to note that the proposals submitted in London were aimed at reducing this danger. Although, regrettably, no positive results have been achieved, a comparison of the different plans undoubtedly shows a certain rapprochement of the points of view. It will therefore be important, during future negotiations in the United Nations, to continue to work in this direction, regardless of the difficulties that may arise.

128. Austria has agreed to limitations of its arms potential in an international treaty, the Austrian State Treaty of 15 May 1955, which might well be considered the final goal of disarmament for other countries also. We are well aware that this limitation of our arma-

ments is hardly of vital importance in relation to the power factors involved. We feel, however, that it is essential to start somewhere with disarmament. We believe we have made a valuable contribution in this respect towards understanding among the nations of the world. The great Powers bear a decisive responsibility -- in the truest sense of the word -- for the future of the world.

129. Although the question of disarmament must be regarded as one of the utmost urgency at present, it cannot be treated separately from all the other political problems facing the world, but must be viewed in conjunction with them. There are two major problems which are of crucial importance to this forum. These are -- and they are decisive for us all -- the relationship between West and East on the one hand, and the birth of new, independent States on the other. This necessarily brings about a change in the political picture of the world. It is understandable that Austria is particularly interested in the first problem, since our country is situated on the crossroads between East and West. No country can be so greatly interested in a relaxation of tensions as Austria, for every aggravation of differences affects us directly or indirectly. Clear evidence of this is the stream of refugees still continuing across our borders.

130. The General Assembly only recently took up the question of Hungary. During the debate [677th meeting], the Austrian delegation suggested that, for humanitarian reasons, the responsible authorities in Budapest should grant a general amnesty to all those who, in connexion with the events in Hungary, have been arrested or sentenced. It was for humanitarian reasons that Austria, at a time when events in our neighbouring country held the world spellbound, acted in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. Today we again turn, for purely humanitarian reasons, to the responsible authorities in Hungary to ask that freedom be given to those who are still imprisoned and under sentence. We hope that this appeal will not remain unheard and that, in this part of the world also, we may witness a lessening of tensions.

131. It is understandable that Austria is also interested in the fate of its neighbour to the West. The solution of the question of German unification would certainly be a decisive contribution towards a normalization and stabilization of conditions in Europe. Here, too, the free will of the people and their right to self-determination, as outlined in the Charter, must be the guiding principle.

132. Although not immediately involved geographically, Austria was greatly interested in the peaceful solution of another problem. I am referring to the events in the Middle East with which the General Assembly was so much concerned last year.

133. The fact that in the Far East actual fighting stopped years ago may also be cited as an encouraging development. We hope that in that area, too, definitive solutions will soon be found.

134. Permit me to speak briefly of the other set of questions referred to above.

135. It is unavoidable that through the emergence of new States the political situation of the world is undergoing changes. A great deal of patience and understanding and, above all, the gradual disappear-

ance of distrust will be necessary to overcome differences that might arise in this connexion. I am convinced, however, that such differences will not be incapable of solution. Much will depend on the technical and economic assistance to be given to these young nations in order to facilitate their adjustment to the new world order. We regard such support as one of the foremost tasks of the United Nations.

136. We in Austria have been particularly gratified to note that this year, too, a new Member has been admitted to the world Organization and I should like to extend to the youngest Member of the United Nations, the Federation of Malaya, our best wishes for a peaceful and successful future.

137. Less than a year ago I appealed to the people of the world to make available new homes to the approximately 180,000 refugees who, as a result of the events in Hungary, had fled to Austria. In the name of the Austrian Government and the Austrian people I wish to thank most sincerely all those who helped these unfortunate victims of our time. Especially we would like to thank the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the High Commissioner himself for the active assistance and valuable support which enabled thousands of refugees to find life worth living again. Yet there are still more than 25,000 refugees waiting for a new home to be given to them. We are convinced that they will also be given a chance to begin a new life within a reasonable time.

138. I thought that I should mention the problem of disarmament in the first place because it is one of the most important tasks of our time and that I should refer to the dangers to humanity which might result from the use of atomic weapons. But here, too, the United Nations has shown us a way out.

139. On 1 October of this year, the first General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency will open in Vienna, and the object of this agency is the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. More than eighty nations have pledged their co-operation to this international agency and by so doing have manifested their willingness to work for the maintenance of peace and to help build a happier future for all mankind. Here is an opportunity to substitute deeds for words and to use the enormous sums which are required for the production of weapons of mass destruction for a better purpose. And here is also a possibility that real co-operation and tangible results may create an atmosphere of confidence that could have a beneficial influence on the efforts aimed at a reduction of armaments.

140. Austria is proud to be host to the first General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency, and will prove itself worthy of the honour, should Vienna be chosen to become the permanent site of the Agency. We fully realize that this would mean a great responsibility, but we shall do our best to further international co-operation and work towards mutual understanding. The city on the Danube still breathes the spirit of centuries of history and tradition and might well inspire a solemn thought, namely, that all power is transitory and that only the good, the noble and the beautiful create monuments that defy all time.

The meeting rose at 12.25 p.m.